*539 /114 cont./
of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri [821] Baúro: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time: before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemán: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "For you there remain the •[755] Payés (Yaí and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to [756] live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

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*192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ã'rã nõ'myá (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõã-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimãrá. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahã, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1)) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.). [755]

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them. *[192]

/267 cont./

e) Medicine.

755 1) Origin of the sicknesses.

*[192] Their knowledge in this sector has been hurt by magic and superstition. Although the nature that surrounds him is prodigal, the native scarcely uses home remedies, because of his concept of the sicknesses, under the influence of the xamã /shaman/ or pajé (11).

11. In the account of the voyage of 1637 by Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," p. 110), we find: -- "They fear /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ the sorcerers, whom they consult, and the latter fear the devil, from whom they receive oracles, and, with lies, they fool the miserable Indians."

753 /268/ They hide their sicknesses as much as possible. They do not know of the existence of pathogenic germs or of the chemical-biological action of the organism and the poisons that act upon it. Their logical mind, on the other hand, demands an explanation for the facts, it is certain that the effects demand a proportional cause. As the obvious forces of nature exist, they admit that there are, moreover, occult forces capable of producing the most varied and strange phenomena. Nor can the meteorological and astronomical phenomena fail to impress them. The Indian, besides, is a convinced animist, as we shall see later. All the sicknesses, for him, have only one cause, however varied their manifestations may be, to wit, the dohasé, which we could translate as malefice (12).

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[754] 12. Like many among the civilized, they believe in witchcraft, evil eye, charms, enchantment, voodoo. A consequence of

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753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be
[192] able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm,
829 send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died
[648] of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

/270 cont./

756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the pajé, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power: that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the pajé and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the pajé [797] is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

b) Means of cure.

• 755 The means of cure that the pajé uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, *[192] fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwãsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ãseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole appara- *[192] tus of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18),

18. To designate this medical kit of the pajé we have also heard the expression Pi'ĩ-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururí.

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is [787] able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "Sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

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d) His curing processes.

• 755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

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21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

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22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

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755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.

[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] [753]

23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

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• 755 756 [821] He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Õxtʉ̃, Waxkarí, or Uhá-phĩ. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kõmũ̃ (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the pajé. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komũ̃, having between his hands the cuia of mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarí located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-pãruri-yʉ̃vi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

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g) His influence.

756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28),

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28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

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756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164] 29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

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755 756 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic: h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).
>
> They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

[766] [797]

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

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35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

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36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 627 628 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

• 755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[797] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

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756 821 [197] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

• 755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patrícia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, [177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Ōnõ̃á or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or parirí, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'ã̃ or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

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533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since
756 one paje is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f)), this explains the fact of hearing the
[184] same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their
[755] songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/302 cont./

534 535 *[192] *[192] [531]

2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192]

4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

• [755]

Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/330 cont./

776 Even burned, his spirit still survives, wandering through the forests, taking strange and frightening shapes. To him they attribute all the misfortunes, both the material ones, such as a storm, the destruction of the forest (26),

> 26. Large clearings are frequently found in the forest. It is a matter of tall and thick trees, but with superficial roots, which fall under the force of the hurricanes, dragging many others with them. They attribute this noise and the falling of the trees to Wãx-tĩ.

a harmful animal in the clearing, and the personal ones: the
* 192 defect of stuttering, madness, etc. They call the mad person
753 Wãx-tĩ dohónõkõ, that is, hurt by Wãx-tĩ. They call tuber-
776 culosis Wãx-tĩ poá-ri, hair /Port. cabelos/ of Wãx-tĩ (27).

> 27. The cause of tuberculosis, according to what they think, is butterfly hairs /Port. pẽlos, hairs, down, colors/ in the throat. The paje blows on the mingau in order to
• [755] invoke the "Wãx-tĩ of the butterflies," so that it will not trouble the patient.

776 The fear of Wãx-tĩ that they feel is such that not for any prize will they venture to enter the forest at night, or even during the day in certain dark igarapés. And they go so far as to abandon their clearings for years, because they heard strange noises there.

191 b) Boraró or Curupira (28).

776 > 28. Through relations with the travelers (many of whom speak Nheengatú) the natives know many terms of the língua geral. Just

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*[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[126]

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

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[535]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

• [755]

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1)), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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[126] 7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels,and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

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535 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrã duhurʃ-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ʃ-khãra duhurʃ kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrʃ maxaĩ duhurʃ kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrʃ kãrũ boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrʃ), when they sleep (kãrũ) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrʃ kãrũ-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

T /368 cont./

• 755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T 843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).

T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.

262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and
tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father.
For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days
(46):

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> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

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/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

/460 cont./

623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always *[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3)).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the [756] respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their [755] activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The [115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriáhũ* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*dumáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *dumáitũwũ* (to extract s o r e s). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the p o i s o n s that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *ymí*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *ymí*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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• 755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yavi* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yavi* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yavi* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yavi* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duwáyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated [756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavís*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yavi* as jaguar seems genuine enough. 754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to 756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against (648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavís* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yavi*. The insect
[825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbü kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.